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Editorial

THE EDITORS once again face the readers of *Caribbean Quarterly*, this time in the fourth and concluding number of the first volume of the journal. We are aware that it has taken us nearly a year and a half to complete Volume One, and we must beg the indulgence of subscribers for delays. However, we can look forward to more prompt publication during the coming year. Readers who know that *Caribbean Quarterly* is printed by the Trinidad Government Printery will realise that the General Election in Trinidad and Tobago under the New Constitution, which has just taken place, imposed a very great strain on the inadequate equipment and the staff of the Printery ; they will, however, be encouraged to know that two new printing machines have recently arrived, and that a Mechanical Type Composing Machine is expected to be delivered in the near future.

We are glad to welcome amongst our contributors Hugh Paget and Rawle Farley. Mr. Paget spent many years in Jamaica, where he brought his historical training and enthusiasm to bear on several aspects of Jamaica history. Mr. Farley is a Guyanese, at present in England, who has realised the importance of the rôle which the Trade Union will play in the building of a West Indian Dominion. In his article he demonstrates the way in which both Universities and Trade Unions have laboured in the cause of popular education in Great Britain on the firm ground of mutual respect and a stoutly maintained independence of both government control and the encroachments of partisan ideologies and propaganda.

We are extremely grateful to Mrs. Edna Manley for allowing us to reproduce a photograph of her fine carving in wood, which adorns the cover.

ERRATUM

The Editors regret that W. Adolphe Roberts' article "Simon Bolivar" in Volume 1 No. 3 of *Caribbean Quarterly* contained an error in paragraph 3, page 7 which the author had asked to be corrected but which was overlooked in proof reading—The attempt on Bolivar's life in Jamaica was not made by two Spaniards and the unlucky victim was not a secretary. The Negro slave Pio stabbed to death Felix Amestoy, mistaking him for the Liberator.

Great Men of the Caribbean

3. José Martí

W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS

COMING a generation later than Simon Bolivar, José Martí brought a very different temperament and different methods to the service of his country. He was born in Havana in 1853, the son of a Spanish ropemaker who was then serving in the army as a non-commissioned officer, and of a mother from the Canary Islands. The home, which is preserved as a national monument, was of the humblest sort and the family income was always low. The mother helped by taking in sewing as piecework.

The young Martí was grave, studious and poetical. Of the scores of pictures of him at all ages that are in existence, not one shows him smiling. He was so gifted a scholar that one lyceum after another agreed to enroll him for small fees, because his father could not afford to pay the full rates. When he was fifteen, the first Cuban revolution broke out, but it was confined to the eastern end of the island and he could take no active part in it. For publishing a patriotic poem and counter-signing a letter of protest to a fellow-student for enlisting in the Spanish army, Martí was arrested and sentenced to six years at hard labour. He was then sixteen years old. He worked with iron shackles on his legs in a stone quarry, which is now within the city limits of Havana and is established in his honour as a museum. Friends intervened at the end of six months and the sentence was commuted to exile, this being interpreted as allowing him to go to Spain. He completed his education first at the University of Madrid and then at that of Saragossa, graduating in law with the tribute, "exceptional ability" attested by the examiners.

Martí returned to America, landing in Mexico, since he was still barred from Cuba. He went to his native island once, under a false name, before the revolution ended, but was forced to leave to escape arrest. The Ten Years' War, as it was called, subsided in utter failure in 1878, and he benefited by an amnesty to go home. He found Cuba prostrate, her people sunk in despair. But he refused to believe that her case was hopeless. He openly expressed republican sentiments and was again expelled, this time in perpetuity.

He now devoted himself to his life's work in a spirit of self-abnegation, and with an industry and oneness of purpose that may possibly have been equalled but can never have been surpassed. Toussaint would have been capable of it, if he had had freedom of motion and the education required. The restless soul of Bolívar would certainly have shrunk from the patient, obscure labour that Martí undertook, knowing that it would be many years before the goal could be reached.

The task was to rebuild the Cuban effort toward independence on a basis so patriotically sound, so carefully planned, that it must succeed. Martí saw that he would have to depend largely upon Cubans living abroad, some as political exiles, some as merchants and workmen. He had great natural talent as an organizer. He began by rejuvenating certain committees and clubs already existing in New York, Mexico City and elsewhere. Then he founded dozens of new groups, among the cigar workers of Key West and Tampa, Florida, most of whom were Cubans; among his countrymen wherever he could find them, in all the eastern cities of the United States, in all the Latin-American countries around the Caribbean Sea; and in the British colonies, including Jamaica.

The leaders of the late revolution had scattered. Some had fled to Central and South America, some to Hispaniola and some to Jamaica. Martí kept up a correspondence with all of them, telling them of his work, stimulating them to ardor for the next attempt. Many of them were older men than he, and they had to be wooed into accepting guidance from him. Without exception, they ended by admiring him wholeheartedly.

Martí did not confine himself to agitation. He spoke and wrote incessantly along moral and cultural lines, to prepare his people for self-government. He was historian, essayist, poet and journalist, all in one. He coined unforgettable phrases. Listen to some of them :—

"To many generations of slaves must succeed one generation of martyrs" "He is a criminal who promotes an evitable war, and he, also, who avoids an inevitable war" "What I must say before my voice is silenced and my heart ceases to beat in this world, is that my country has all the virtues necessary for the conquest and maintenance of her liberty".

Martí persuaded exiled Cubans to contribute generously to the funds of the revolution. He refused to spend one penny of this money upon himself, though often he was in sore need for the support of his wife and child. Instead, he earned a living as a teacher, writer and translator, occasionally as a lawyer, and at one period as consul in New York for Uruguay and Argentina. He lived very simply and turned over as large a share of his earnings as possible to the Junta, as the Central Cuban Revolutionary Committee in New York was called.

At the end of fourteen years the objective was in sight. Forces within Cuba were rallying for the blow. The exiled military leaders were prepared to return, and these included Máximo Gómez, a native of Santo Domingo, who was to be commander-in-chief; the great mulatto general, Antonio Maceo, then in Costa

Rica ; and Calixto García, who was in Spain. Martí shipped arms and ammunition to Cuba, by means of blockade-running expeditions, most of which were successful, though some were intercepted. It was hoped to start the revolution in 1894, but the loss of a very important consignment of munitions forced a postponement. In February, 1895, the uprising at last took place, beginning at Baire, a town in Oriente Province near Santiago.

Detractors had said that José Martí would ask his compatriots to die while he sat in an easy chair in New York. He concluded that it was necessary to disprove this sneer. He had never borne arms, but that was equally true of thousands who were volunteering. Over the objections of his associates on the Junta, and of most of the generals, he resolved to take part in the first campaign, though it was agreed that he would leave Cuba after he had demonstrated his courage. Coming from that self-sacrificing spirit, it was a gesture of humility.

Martí joined Máximo Gómez in Haiti. Accompanied by a few officers, they reached Cuba in an open boat that had been dropped from a freighter in the Windward Passage. A few weeks later, on 19th May, the small command they headed ran into an ambush at Dos Ríos. Gómez asked Martí to keep to the rear, using the expression, "for this is not your place". But Martí would have none of that. He joined in the charge and was shot dead in his first skirmish. The Spaniards captured his body, took it to Santiago and placed it on display, then buried it respectfully enough in Santa Ifigenia Cemetery.

The death of Martí so shocked and grieved the Cuban people that they rose to the support of the revolution with a fervor they might not otherwise have shown. The struggle lasted for three years and was being won by the patriots when the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbour brought the United States into the war. The end was thereby considerably hastened. After four years of military government, for which there was little justification, the American withdrew and the republic became a fact in May, 1902.

The Cubans called José Martí "The Apostle". They have sanctified him in an extraordinary degree, giving him a veneration that is subtly unlike the passionate idolatry accorded Bolívar. His bust or portrait, the expression austere, presides over every public office, every schoolroom in the country. Never is he portrayed in a flamboyant attitude. A biography of him, officially crowned and published in 1941, is entitled, *José Martí, the Saint of America*. I know of no patriot more deserving of that name.

The Free Village System In Jamaica

HUGH PAGET

This article is reproduced by kind permission from the Jamaica Historical Review, Vol. 1. No. 1. The author, who took his degree in History at Oxford, was for some years representative of the British Council in Jamaica, a member of the Board of Governors of the Institute of Jamaica, and a founder of the Jamaica Historical Society.

LORD OLIVIER, in his masterly study, "Jamaica the Blessed Island", writes :—

"The twenty-seven years between 'Emancipation' (1838) and the 'Jamaica Rebellion' (1865) form a single continuous period in the development of the Jamaican people. That period transformed an amorphous aggregate of 320,000 negro slaves, reputed to be irreclaimable savages, into the organic and self-respecting citizenry of a British community. There exists no professed history giving a connected and understanding account of that remarkable social and economic phenomenon, unparalleled so far as it goes in human story".

I shall endeavour, in the present article, to make some contribution towards a more complete understanding of the nature and significance of the events and trends in the history of the earlier and more important years of this period.

The significance of the year 1838 in the history of the Jamaican people cannot be exaggerated. Before that date there were certainly large numbers of people in Jamaica (the population was, in fact, over 370,000) but they did not, in any true sense, constitute a society or a community. On the one hand there were the colonists ; on the other hand there were the slaves. Each constituted an entirely distinct social group separated not so much by race as by the rigid economic structure of an artificial society. Neither was a normally balanced social group, for each had been uprooted from its normal environment and had lost in the process the traditional social sanctions and the spiritual basis of social life. In between these two groups there had grown up, it is true, an aggregate of free coloured people which had for a long period been steadily increasing in numbers and importance but they were only just beginning to play that fuller part in the life of the country which had been made possible by the "Act to remove all disabilities of Persons of Free Condition" passed in the year 1830, and they were still a people apart both from the white and the negro elements in the population.

Sir Lionel Smith, Governor of Jamaica, in his speech to the Council and the Assembly in October, 1838, called the complete emancipation of the slaves "the most important event in the annals of Colonial history". This statement, which is as true today as it was over a century ago, shows clearly enough that the Colonial authorities fully appreciated the significance of emancipation, a fact which makes it seem all the stranger that more was not done to ensure the complete success of the measure. It is easy to be wise after the event, but any intelligent person in Jamaica at that time could have anticipated most at least of the problems arising out of the transformation of the vast majority of the population from a condition of slavery on the estates to that of a landless proletariat. The extreme unwise-dom of such a policy, in the first place, should have been self-evident ; for a people who have for generations derived their livelihood from the soil can hardly be divorced from it by a stroke of the pen without disastrous results. This was not, of course, precisely the intention, nor in fact actually the case in every instance but the important fact remains that the foundations of a society based upon estate slavery were overthrown in a moment and that little or no attempt was made by the authorities to erect in its place a properly designed and well founded social structure. This anomaly becomes more readily understandable when it is remembered that Emancipation was conceived in England and was forced upon the Assembly of Jamaica by Parliament and that the members of the House of Assembly upon whom rested the responsibility for creating a stable and progressive free Society in Jamaica were, almost to a man, opposed to the idea of Emancipation and were determined both from prejudice and from a mistaken idea of their own interests, to wreck the policy which had been imposed upon them by the force of public opinion in Great Britain.

Exactly a century ago, on 7th June, 1845, the Rev. William Knibb, who played an important part in the life of Jamaica in the years immediately following Emancipation, openly accused the Assembly of this obstructive policy at a meeting held at Norwich. "Immediately on the possession of that freedom to which I have referred" declared Knibb, "there were laws passed which were intended to act in all their force (and the declaration that they were thus intended to act was publicly made) upon the then free inhabitants of Jamaica. These laws were—first, the ejection act ; secondly, the trespass act. By the first the whole population, or any portion of it, could be ejected at a week's notice from the homes in which they had been born and in which they had vegetated while slaves ; by the other, the police of the country was empowered to catch hold of and to imprison any individual who was found in his former home, after he had received notice of ejection. This was done with the avowed purpose of compelling the labourer to work for whatever wages they chose to give, and to perform as much work as they required".

Every generalisation is made at some sacrifice of truth but the planters in Jamaica of that day are, with some notable exceptions, proved guilty by the evidence of history of that of which Knibb accused them.

It had not been anticipated that emancipation would involve a general exodus of the former slaves from the estates. Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey during their tour of the West Indies in 1837 (with a view to studying the apprenticeship system established in 1834 preparatory to complete emancipation which followed in 1838), visited various estates in Jamaica including Farm in the parish of St. Catherine. So impressed were they with what they saw that they recorded

their opinion that " so far from complete emancipation being injurious to such estates as these, the people when free, will be too unwilling to leave their cottages and gardens, and fruit trees, the heirlooms handed down to them from their ancestors, to be likely to forsake the estates".

"In a state of freedom" they wrote elsewhere, "it may be anticipated, that the condition and resources of an agricultural labourer, working for regular wages, will be, as they are in England, superior to those of the petty agriculturist cultivating his little plot of land with the labour of his own hands ; and it is evident, therefore, that the negroes will generally prefer working on the estates. Their strong attachment to the place of their birth, to their houses, gardens, to the graves of their parents and kindred, exceeding what has been recorded of any other people, is another circumstance, which favours their continuance as labourers, on the estates to which they are now respectively attached.

"To such views as these, is opposed the fact that the negroes will be tempted, by the abundance and fertility of the waste lands, to become small settlers, and independent cultivators. We do not think such an alarm reasonable, and we deprecate any attempt to evade the difficulty, by lessening the free agency of the labouring population. It would be possible to deprive freedom of its substance and value, by restrictive laws, devised with subtlety and executed with violence".

Planters who sought to drive the people from the estates resorted to two principal expedients—ejectment and the imposition of high rents. The Emancipation Act provided that the negroes who occupied cottages and grounds on the estates should keep them for three months after freedom. Unfortunately it was not made clear that this occupation was to be rent free. A decision was given by the Attorney General of Jamaica against this point of view and this decision was in turn reversed by the Attorney and Solicitor General of Great Britain. This confusion of opinion led to chaos.

An illuminating account of these ejectments is given by Mr. Charles Darling (later Governor of Jamaica) to the then Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, in a letter dated 13th May, 1839. "Notices to quit were", he writes, "served in great numbers very soon after the 1st August, and long before the publication of the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General of England" Of the effect which these notices produced upon the minds of the peasantry a striking instance will be afforded by the following statement :—

"On taking possession of Weybridge estate in September last, I visited the 'negro village', and in conversation with one of the more intelligent labourers, I asked why he had allowed his house to fall into such bad repair, and what was the cause of the irregular attendance of the field labourers at work ? He told me immediately that they did not care to do anything to their houses as they were uncertain whether they would be allowed to retain them or not, and that they felt 'quite unsettled'. Upon inquiring what had occasioned this uncertainty, he immediately produced his notice to quit, and I then, for the first time, learnt that not only every householder on the property had been served with one, but that the practice had been in many other instances adopted in the district".

A vivid picture of the state of affairs in Jamaica at that time may be gained from the reports of the stipendiary magistrates who were appointed throughout the island to safeguard the interests of the apprentices and of the fully emancipated people.

One of these magistrates, Mahon, writes from Vere in April, 1839, pointing out that "Every estate in the parish is doing well, which I entirely attribute to the planters doing away with the abominable system of ejecting the labourers".

Some of the planters charged their former slaves excessive rents, even resorting to the astonishing expedient of charging rent to every member in a family, a system which, John Gurley reports in June, 1839, had "been the means of many estates being almost deserted" in the Nassau mountains of St. Elizabeth.

John Dillon writes from Dry Harbour in the parish of St. Ann in March, 1839 :—

"Where rents are not charged, cultivation has best succeeded ; where rents are charged, wages are higher, and labour less continuous besides the host of evil feelings it engenders. The man paying rent will be desirous of equalizing his position with his neighbour who does not, and he effects his object by demanding higher wages : in plain figures the account stands thus :

"The average sum hitherto recovered for houses and grounds is 3s. 4d. a week ; the man paying rent demands and receives 2s. 6d. a day, or 12s. 6d. a week ; he who does not pay, works for 1s. 8d. a day, or at the rate of 9s. 4d. a week, leaving a balance in favour of rent of only 2d. per week and yet for this vision, this two-penny farthing delusion, some properties have been depopulated".

W. J. Marlton, writing from St. Mary's in April, 1839, takes a more favourable view :—

"In general the labouring population earn with ease sufficient money to pay their rent and supply their wants. Would the employers repair the cottages, the peasantry would have no reason to complain".

It would in fact have been very easy for the planters to have retained the labourers on the estates if they had wished to do so. It has already been observed that the people were very strongly attached to the houses and grounds which had been their homes, in many cases for generations. There were also hospitals on the estates and other advantages which were not to be found elsewhere and the fact was that the proprietors of good estates had no difficulty at all in retaining the people upon them.

It was, on the other hand, the definite policy of the majority of the planters to drive the people from the estates in the belief that cheap labour would be more readily obtainable on their own terms from a landless proletariat.

This was stated baldly enough by a meeting of the freeholders, proprietors and managers of the properties in the parish of Trelawny held in February 1839 ; "It is the opinion of this Committee that the people never will be brought to a state of continuous labour while they are allowed to possess the large tracts of land now cultivated by them for provisions, which renders them perfectly independent of their employers.

Edmund Lyon reports from Trelawny in July, 1839 :—

"Many proprietors have advertised for sale the mountain lands heretofore cultivated as provision grounds by their labourers, from an assumption that their produce, by rendering the people independent of estates' labour for sustenance, has a tendency to prevent that regularity of labour they deem necessary for sugar culture ; this in conjunction with the irritation produced on some properties by the indiscriminate service of notices to quit, has induced a very large portion of the best class of agricultural labourers in this parish to become purchasers of land, thus producing an effect the very reverse of that contemplated by their masters, in rendering them more independent of daily hire than before".

Exactly the same process was observed in August of that year by Fishbourne, the Stipendiary Magistrate at Buff Bay, in the present parish of Portland :—

"Planters are unwilling to permit families to reside on their plantations, the females of which refuse to devote themselves to agricultural labour. The object is to increase the number of contract field labourers : the effect I have reason to believe will be the reverse—for many respectable people are now availing themselves of opportunities of purchasing or leasing small pieces of land where they are preparing to place their wives and children and where they also will retire when they can quit the estates, without sacrificing the provisions now in the ground".

This was the crux of the whole matter. As a general rule the people would have preferred to continue to live in their old villages on the estates and to cultivate their old provision grounds. If, however, they were ejected or were subject to ejection at notice so short that they were in danger of losing each crop that they planted, and had, in addition, to pay high rents, they had perforce to leave the estates and to make new homes for themselves where their tenure was sufficiently secure for them to plant crops with a reasonable assurance of reaping them, to build good houses and to make other improvements which they need not be afraid of losing through the caprices of irresponsible landlords. Thus only could a man make a home for his family consistent with his self respect ; by that means alone could he obtain that measure of independence which could give him some bargaining power in the matter of wages. This was clearly seen by H. Daly who wrote from St. Andrew in July, 1839 ; "To escape this state of dependency many of the late apprentices are purchasing or renting lands in the vicinity of their former masters' estates", and by Thomas Abbott who observed in August, 1840, that the small settler's acre or half-acre in Westmoreland, although not being sufficient to support him completely, "may enable him to procure higher wages than if he were living at sufferance on the estate".

The Rev. William Knibb, the Baptist missionary to whom reference has already been made in this article, saw clearly enough before the slaves were completely emancipated that settlement on their own land was the only course open to the people evicted from the estates. On 19th July, 1838, he told a meeting of

2,500 Jamaican apprentices at Falmouth, that, "if they (the planters) are blind to their own interests, and drive you from their properties, there is plenty of crown land in Jamaica, and you can resort to that in case of extremity". These then were the causes of that remarkable social revolution which took place in Jamaica in the years immediately following the emancipation of the slaves. As early as 1839, in the Report of the Commission of Quit-Rent Inquiry, it is observed that "the recent change in the social and political state of the Colony has brought with it one very important consequence—a minute sub-division of landed property", and this process continued at a great pace during the next few years. At the end of that period the population, which had hitherto been grouped artificially on a purely economic basis on the sugar estates, had for the most part settled themselves on a social basis in the districts, villages and on their own scattered individual freeholds where, so far as the availability of land permitted, they chose to live. The present social structure of Jamaica does in fact date from that period : the people had taken the first and most important step towards becoming a real community. This settlement on the land was for the most part, haphazard and unplanned. It was determined primarily by the availability of land in the area concerned. In some places sugar estates which had fallen into ruin through the decline of the sugar industry were cut up and sold to the people. In others only back land, far from roads and often rocky and unfruitful, could be got and there the people made their grounds and built their houses. A report written by the Stipendiary Magistrate Ewart, from Morant Bay in October, 1840, gives an account of the process in St. Thomas which may be regarded as being typical of conditions in most parts of the Island—"The progress of the rural population in establishing themselves as small freeholders has been rapid and unceasing. Within a few miles of Morant Bay, three extensive villages have been established on sugar plantations that have been thrown out of cultivation for many years. These freeholds vary in extent, from one to ten acres, and the cottages, amounting to upwards of 300, are neat and comfortable and surrounded by gardens and provisions grounds. Independent of these villages there are many other small freeholds scattered over this district".

Wherever possible the people settled together in villages or towns. A remarkably clear account of the process of establishing such a settlement and of the reasons for which the people did so is given by Hall Pringle, writing from Clarendon in June, 1839 :—

"On the borders of Clarendon and Manchester, a town is springing up at Porus, by the unaided energy and industry of the negro settlers, of whom there is now, as near as I can guess, 1,500 including the females and children. Within an area of two miles, several proprietors are selling land for the purpose. The most extensive sales have been made by Mr. Andrew Drummond. This gentleman, since August last year, purchased 700 acres for 500 L. currency ; the whole of this, except about 20 reserved acres, he has sold in lots averaging 15 to 25 acres each. What he purchased for 500 L. he has sold for 2,000 L. It appears that the purchasers from Mr. Drummond only acted as agents, and amongst them and the entire body of the settlers, there is now only three who hold so much as five acres each, and the generality of these freeholds contain no more than from one and one-half acres to two acres. I have visited this village several times, and conversed

with the settlers, and also with some respectable individuals who reside in the immediate vicinity of Porus, and I learn that the conduct of these newcomers has been irreproachable and that their industry has been surprising. The quality of the land is so bad, and freeholds so small, which these persons have purchased that it is almost an impossibility that they can reap any produce from them, and this the settlers know well ; I was informed by them they only wished for homes where they could not be troubled, and that they might have the liberty of working where they might choose for their livelihood".

As Pringle clearly saw, the average land holding acquired in this way, although giving its owner some measure of independence was too small to make him entirely self-supporting. He adds that "there are three very fine sugar estates in the immediate neighbourhood, on the Clarendon side, but none of these settlers have yet taken employment on them, and the locality of the village will certainly enhance the value of these sugar estates, as well as the other properties in the neighbourhood".

It is little short of tragic that the Government of Jamaica at that period missed its opportunity of carrying out a definite policy of settlement of the many emancipated people upon good land near to the estates and other centres where regular employment might be obtained. Had such a policy been initiated the people would have benefitted and the estates would have been supplied with sufficient regular labour and the whole community would have prospered accordingly. It may be said that Government Land Settlement Schemes are a modern conception and that this criticism is therefore unjustified, but those who governed Jamaica a century ago, cannot plead ignorance before the bar of history, for just such a plan as this was put clearly before the Governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, by the Honourable D. Robertson, Custos of St. Elizabeth, in a remarkable letter dated 21st September, 1840 :—

"The labouring population of this parish", writes the Custos, "formerly attached to properties, have in many instances left and established themselves as small freeholders on very poor unproductive savanna lands, too distant from the large estates to enable them to labour thereon to advantage ; they will consequently at no distant period have to desert these freeholds, and return to the estates, or resort to situations more productive and central for obtaining labour. I would, therefore, with every deference take the liberty of suggesting the very great utility and advantage that would result to the labouring population generally were Government to purchase lands for erecting new interior townships in healthy and productive situations, where they would, by being in the vicinity of large estates, be certain of procuring continuous labour ; the town or villages to be erected on a regular plan, each cottage to have a lot of land attached, sufficient by proper cultivation, to assist in the maintenance of a family, for which the tenant would pay a stipulated rent to Government. The villages to be situated at such distances from each other as to prevent the labourers disputing about labour on the adjoining estates ; each township to have at once erected a school-house and chapel in the centre of the village, where an island curate would have to perform divine worship at least once every fortnight or oftener, if the villages

are not so situated as to permit his service at both every sabbath day ; this plan would afford greater facility for the education of the children than at present exists, and would tend very much to the moral improvement of the adults as well as the children. Were this course adopted it would at once put a stop to the impositions that have been so extensively practised on the labouring population in many parts of the island by designing individuals, who have purchased at a low rate large tracts of land, and resold the same in small lots to the peasantry at a shamefully exorbitant profit, the lands being at the same time very poor and unproductive, and so situated as to prevent the labourers from being able to procure sufficient employment to support their families, thus exposing them to indigence and poverty instead of comfort, happiness, and affluence, which would be consequent on the plan I have taken the liberty of suggesting".

Not only does this letter outline a constructive policy of land settlement ; it contains a whole programme of social and economic rehabilitation for the people which demonstrates the fact that amongst the landowners of Jamaica of that day were to be found some at least with foresight and with a highly developed sense of social responsibility although these qualities were not very much in evidence amongst the Island's legislators.

Fortunately for Jamaica there was one group of men in the Island who not only realised to the full that there was an imperative need for something constructive to be done to meet the situation but who were ready and willing to do it themselves : these men were the missionaries of the evangelical churches.

We have already seen that the Baptist missionary, William Knibb, in a public meeting at Falmouth in July, 1838, had warned the people of the possibility of their being driven from the estates and had advised them, in that eventuality, to settle upon the crown lands. He had gone on to tell them : "I have had an offer of a loan of £10,000 from a friend in England ; and if it be necessary, that sum shall be appropriated towards the purchase of lands on which you may locate yourselves if your present employers force you to quit the properties on which you now live". John Howard Hinton, the biographer of Knibb, makes the following comment upon this speech :—

"The reader will observe in this speech the idea of providing a refuge for labourers who might be expelled from the estate cottages, by purchasing land on which they might erect tenements for themselves. The idea was a felicitous one. It was an effectual remedy for the evil contemplated. It was also as magnificent as it was felicitous It was a scheme for delivering people from bondage. Its vastness might well have caused it to be deemed impracticable ; conceived, however, with so much sagacity and foresight, it gradually ripened into an active element. It was the germ of what subsequently became so notorious and so successful under the name of the Free Village System".

Knibb was not in fact the initiator of this system. That honour is probably due to another Baptist missionary, James Murcell Phillipo, who established the first "Free Village" in the hills above Spanish Town and named it Sligoville after the Marquis of Sligo, then Governor of Jamaica. Dr. Underhill gives the following account of the place after visiting it in 1861 :—

"A visit to this township was most interesting, it being the first of those numerous settlements of the enfranchised slaves which sprang into existence immediately after emancipation. . . . It comprises about fifty acres of land : twenty-five acres were purchased in the commencement of 1835, by Mr. Phillippo, as peculiarly eligible for village settlement, on account of the good roads about it, and its proximity to Kingston and Spanish Town. . . . In June (1838), two months before entire freedom was proclaimed, the first lot of land was purchased by Henry Lunan, formerly a slave and headman on an adjoining plantation. I record his name to mark with special emphasis this commencement of a new era, not only of liberty, but of an independent peasantry in the Island of Jamaica".

In St. Ann's parish, the Rev. John Clark devoted himself to this work. "In this endeavour", writes the Rev. George Henderson, in his book, "Goodness and Mercy", "he was supported by Mr. Sturge, and probably by other kindred spirits in England. Mr. Sturge lent the sum of £400 for land purchase and with this amount Mount Abyla was bought, divided into village lots, and sold out, and some one hundred families were settled in a village now named Sturge Town, where a Church was formed and a day school established in 1840. Then, in succession followed the settlement of the villages of Clarksonville, Wilberforce and Buxton, whose names commemorate the friends of the race who laboured so long, and sacrificed so much, in their efforts to bring liberty to our land. In addition to these, lands were bought and homesteads settled at Bethany, and at Salem on the same seashore ; and subsequently the villages of Happy Valley, Philadelphia and Harmony were founded, some two miles from Brown's Town.

"In these places comfortable cottages of two or three rooms with the necessary outbuildings, were erected by the purchasers, and for the most part were solidly built of native lumber and Spanish wall, shingled and floored ; and many still stand (1931) as the homes of descendants".

Others who were prominent in this invaluable work were the Baptist missionaries, Thomas Burchell (who founded Bethel Town and Mount Carey), Messrs. Dendy, Dexter, Abbott, Taylor and Reid, and the Rev. George Blyth, of the Scottish Missionary Society.

If the House of Assembly was indifferent to, or even antagonistic towards the settlement of the emancipated people upon the land in Jamaica, this was certainly not true of those responsible for the administration of the Colonies in Great Britain or their representatives in Jamaica, the Governors of the Colony.

Attempts were made as soon as the Emancipation Act had been passed to get the Assembly to deal constructively with some of the problems arising out of that measure but unfortunately with little or no effect. At the same time reports were constantly being called for which exhibit the concern with the welfare and progress of the people in Jamaica which was felt by the British Government.

The settlement of the people on the land was regarded with favour. Sir Charles Metcalfe, Governor of Jamaica, wrote on 16th October, 1839, to the Marquis of Normanby, Secretary of State for the Colonies :—

"In some instances labourers have purchased small lots of land and thus become proprietors. I should be glad if this were a general practice. It would put an end to the cause of irritation which may continue to exist while they hold their houses and grounds on an uncertain tenure ; it would not necessarily throw them out of the labouring class, their properties not being sufficiently large to exempt them entirely from the necessity of seeking other means of support".

Lord John Russell, who succeeded Lord Normanby as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1839, asks Metcalfe in a despatch dated 10th December, 1839, for "any information which you may be able to obtain respecting the acquisition by the negroes of freehold property, and of electoral rights".

In his reply of 9th June, 1840, Metcalfe informs him that "there is no record that shews these acquisitions by negroes alone", but that "the additional number of freeholders with electoral rights acquired since 1st August, 1838, was 934.

"According to the return of the Island Secretary's Office, the number of conveyances of land under 20 acres entered between the 1st August, 1838, and the 1st May, 1840, is 2,074. This number no doubt includes the greater part of the beforementioned 934, and may also include other new freeholds with electoral rights, which have not been registered in the vestries ; and which, until they be so registered, are not operative in confirming those rights. . . .

The number of electors at the last election appears to have been 2,199, to which even 934 would be a large relative addition ; but it is probable that the increase is much greater".

In his Despatch of 30th March, 1840, the Governor had given Lord John Russell a most valuable analysis of the situation in Jamaica :—

"Were the labourer comfortably settled in a home from which he could not be removed, or not at least without sufficient notice", he writes, "there would, I am almost sure be a better chance of obtaining willing labour from him. . . .

"I am happy to add that several gentlemen take this view of the question ; that some have sold land to negroes and thus given them a settled abode ; that others are beginning to perceive the advantage of doing the same ; and that this view is, I trust, gaining ground. I shall do all I can to promote it from a conviction that it will increase the happiness and content of the negro population, and from a belief that it will also tend to the benefit of the landlords. . . .

"It appears to me that the land which they purchase is chiefly for the purpose of obtaining a secure home, that it is generally too little in extent to be looked to as a permanent source of subsistence and that they must calculate either on obtaining additional means of comfort by going out to labour, or on taking more land on lease for their own cultivation. . . . For my own part I rejoice at these settlements of the labourers : their present happiness must be greatly increased, and I do not see that the consequences must necessarily be injurious to the landlords. I rather think that there is greater probability of their proving beneficial".

On 1st August, 1840 (on the second anniversary of emancipation), Metcalfe sent a circular despatch to the Stipendiary Magistrates and Custodes of each parish in which he requested information upon :—

"The progress of the rural population in establishing themselves as small freeholders. The effect of small independent freeholds on the supply of steady labour, whether conducive thereunto or otherwise.

"The condition of the new interior towns and villages created since the abolition of slavery, and their effect on the internal retail commerce of the Colony" and "the state of education among the children of the towns and rural districts".

The numerous and often voluminous reports which were received in response to this despatch provide one of the principal sources from which our information about this highly important phase in the social development of Jamaica is derived. A fairly typical account is that of the Stipendiary Magistrate, Pryce, who, in the course of a long report, dated 10th September, 1840, from St. Thomas in the East, writes :—

"Several villages are settling by the peasantry in this district, viz., at Delvey, Airymount, Navarino, Greenwood, Islington, and Beldona, independent of the very great addition to the townships of Port Morant, Rocky Point, Bath and Manchioneal where hundreds of lots have been purchased in fee, in some instances at the enhanced rate of 40 L. per acre, for lands previously considered almost valueless.

"Their domiciles are being erected upon a much more spacious and comfortable scale than those of former days. In short, the manifest improvement in the people, in their social and domestic comforts, and the independence of the peasantry generally, as well as their dress and demeanour, form a most pleasant contrast to those of former days; they are constant in their religious duties, and continue unremittingly their regard for educational impulses".

Sir Charles Metcalfe's Despatch to Lord John Russell of 14th December, 1840, and its enclosure are of such outstanding importance in a study of the subject with which we are concerned that they are here reproduced in full :—

"KING'S HOUSE,
14th December, 1840".

"My Lord,

The accompanying statement shows that a large increase has taken place from 1838 to 1840 in the number of proprietors of small freeholds in the several rural parishes of this island; the increase consisting almost entirely of emancipated negroes.

"2. It appears that the number of such freeholders assessed in 1838 was 2,014; and in 1840, 7,848. There was no assessment in the intermediate year, owing to the suspension of ordinary taxation.

"3. The return received from Kingston does not exhibit any increase, being a commercial city, in which land is expensive, and occupied by dwelling houses, purchases, it may be presumed, cannot be effected there to the same extent, or at the same prices as in the rural districts".

I have, &c.,

C. T. METCALFE.

"The Right Honourable Lord John Russell,
&c., &c., &c."

The following table is enclosed with this Despatch :—

"Comparative Statement of Freeholders Assessed as holding Freeholds under Forty Acres in 1838 and 1840.

		1838	1840
Saint Catherine	...	...	48
Saint Mary	...	...	72
Saint Dorothy	...	...	86
Saint John	...	...	7
Saint Ann	...	...	178
Manchester	...	...	109
Vere	...	...	90
Clarendon	...	...	134
St. Thomas in the Vale	...	...	131
Portland	...	...	96
Saint George	...	...	111
St. Thomas in the East	...	...	70
Saint David	...	...	35
Saint Andrew	...	...	166
Port Royal	...	...	15
Trelawny	...	...	71
Saint James	...	...	94
Hanover	...	...	197
Westmoreland	...	...	258
Saint Elizabeth	...	...	146
Total	...	<u>2,014</u>	<u>7,848</u>
Increase	...		<u>5,834</u>

JOHN HIGGINSON

Secretary

There is some discrepancy in the table but the general trend is unmistakably that of an overwhelming increase in the number of small freeholds throughout the Island. The percentage of this increase (which is 290 for the Island as a whole on the basis of the totals given) varies surprisingly in different parishes. The increase is as high as 700 per cent. in Clarendon and as low as 26 per cent. in Hanover : it is impossible to go into a detailed analysis of the causes of this variation within the limits of this article but it would provide a fruitful subject for careful study from which it is reasonable to suppose that facts would emerge having an important bearing upon conditions prevailing today in the different parishes of the Island. It is sufficient for our purposes to observe that the evidence makes it clear that the emancipated people, throughout Jamaica, were planning their lives in accordance with what they believed to be their own interests. It is evident, moreover, that many, if not most of them, believed that these interests would best be served by establishing themselves upon the land and that where there were few settlements this arose from the fact that suitable land was not available. A realistic statement of the process is contained in a letter from the Stipendiary Magistrate, John Daughtrey, written from St. Elizabeth in July, 1839 :—

"Of the large body who have been induced to provide homes of their own, if they discover it to be less to their interest to cultivate a small patch of land than to work for hire, as in general they certainly will, the neighbouring estates where they shall be best treated and best paid will ere long be again able to obtain their services.

"In all these respects they will now be governed by their own views of personal interest, the same as in any other class of society. Nothing can permanently keep labour out of the channels which yield most advantage and comfort to the labourer".

The Rev. William Knibb, in the address given in June, 1845, to which I have before referred, summarised the progress in settlement on the land which had already been made :—

"By the census taken during last year, I find that there were full nineteen thousand persons, formerly slaves, who had purchased land on which they were erecting their own cottages. In St. James' parish there were 10 new free villages, with 11,020 houses ; in Trelawny, the parish in which I live, there were 23 free villages, and 1,590 houses ; in St. Mary's, 15 free villages, with 632 houses ; in St. Thomas in the Vale, 10 free villages with 1,780 houses".

A century ago the foundations of the structure of a free and homogeneous Jamaican community had been securely laid.

Poem

P. M. SHERLOCK

My father walked beside me
Through the fields where grasses green
Softly sang and flowers sprang
From the dust beneath our feet.

My father's father too was there
And all around the eyes of those
Who shuttered clay had cast aside
While trees in robes of living light
Sang hallelujah ceaselessly.

See singing in that shining band
Brave Tacky claps his hands for joy
See Cudjoe dance before the Lamb
His blessed wounds now golden mouths
For Hallelujahs evermore ;
See Bogle shepherding his flock
The hangman's rope a garland gay
And Gordon wave his lifted arms
And sound his passionate amen.

The Great House owners, slaves no more,
With naked feet approach the throne,
They join with ecstasy the throng
And freedom find in brotherhood

The dancing feet no imprint make,
But beauty flows upon the land
On flowers and fields and singing trees
Roots moving gently through the silent ones.

John Sebastian Bach

1685 - 1750

DR. T. W. J. TAYLOR

TWO HUNDRED years ago, on 28th July, 1750, Bach died in a fit of apoplexy. He had reached what in the eighteenth century was the ripe age of sixty-five and he had been blind for the last three years of his life owing, it is said, to the great tax he had placed on his eyes throughout his life in writing and copying music. He is one of the greatest musicians the world has ever known.

Bach did not cut the romantic figure which is demanded by the present artificial conventions of the film. He was not wayward or impulsive or striking to look at. He was a solid individual in a wig who married twice and had a total of twenty children of whom more than half died in infancy. His four surviving sons were brought up in his art and all made their name in music ; some of their works are played today. Bach earned his living throughout his life by music, first as a singer in a church choir, then by playing in the private band of a German prince, then as organist to the Court at Weimar in Germany. At the age of thirty-two he was appointed to take charge of the music in a church at Cöthen and six years later as director of music in the two chief churches in Leipzig. There he remained for the rest of his life, twenty-seven years in all.

His output of musical composition is enormous and nearly all of it was written for strictly practical purposes : organ music for his churches, "church cantatas", which were an elaborate type of anthem set for soloists, choir and a simple orchestra, settings of the services of the Lutheran Church, hymns, notably those written for his second wife who had a beautiful voice, harpsichord pieces for playing in the home, orchestral suites for the bands at the princely and ducal courts of Germany, simple exercises and pieces for teaching music. He wrote no operas or oratorios though Handel, who was born in the same year as Bach, was writing many of these and winning great renown thereby. He wrote for the simple orchestras available to him in Leipzig and was content to do so. He was himself a highly accomplished organist and for many years after his death he was remembered as a performer rather than a composer. Sir John Hawkins, who published a general history of music in 1776, says nothing about him except that he was celebrated "for his performance on the organ, especially in the use of the Pedals". Practically nothing of his was published during his life and most of the

great mass of his music remained in manuscript in Leipzig. The musical world did not realize how great a man he was and indeed hardly had the chance of doing so. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that his true place in music began to be recognized and this was largely due to two other great composers, Mozart and Mendelssohn. Mozart, that brilliant and unfortunate genius who was born six years after Bach's death and died at the age of thirty-five, knew one of Bach's sons and during a visit to Leipzig in 1789 heard a motet in eight parts by Bach performed from the MS parts : he exclaimed "Here is something from which I can learn" and demanding more of the manuscripts he became absorbed in their study. Mendelssohn did much to reveal Bach's genius by organizing in Berlin a performance of his great Passion according to St. Matthew in 1829, exactly one hundred years after its first unpretentious production in St. Thomas' Church in Leipzig. To quote a nineteenth century writer, "A powerful excitement seized the musical world : people began to feel that an infinite depth and fulness of originality united with a consummate power of formal construction was lying hidden in these neglected works".

Since then Bach's fame has grown without ceasing. A society was formed in Germany whose sole purpose was to publish everything he wrote. Choral societies which are proud to bear his name and devote much of their energies to performing his works have been founded in England, the United States and Germany. In the university world the Oxford Bach Choir has been in existence for more than fifty years. He is universally recognised as a member of that select company of the great geniuses, Shakespeare, Beethoven, Dante, Aristotle, Newton and the few others.

To explain the many aspects of Bach's musical genius would demand much space and much knowledge (both from the writer and the reader) and would obscure the simple purposes of this article which is to record the two hundredth anniversary of his death. Some of his pre-eminence lies in his technical mastery of form. He is indeed the culminating master of one musical form, the fugue. Just as Beethoven put the final touches of genius in what is called the sonata form, a confusing term because though used in the sonata it is equally important in the symphony, the concerto and much chamber music, so Bach carried the fugue to its highest state of development. He was also a pioneer in overcoming purely practical difficulties. The best example is his famous "Well-tempered Clavier". As most people know, if the ordinary scale is played in a number of different keys and in one of these keys the intervals between the notes are strictly accurate, then the scales in the other keys, or at least some of them, will be uncomfortably out of tune. There must be a compromise if the same notes are to be used in different keys and it must be such that the divergence from true pitch is distributed equally through all the keys. Bach proposed a method of doing this and showed that it worked by writing two sets of preludes and fugues in all the possible keys, major and minor, the famous Forty-Eight. All these could be played without obvious dissonance on a clavichord (an early form of the piano) tuned according to his system. It was more than one hundred years after his death that this system of equal temperament was adopted in England for pianos and organs. But there is much more in Bach than technical accomplishment. His vitality and vigour as a composer is outstanding : his music is on a big scale and he is not concerned with pretty effects, however charming they may be. His power of expressing the greatest intensity of emotion with the simplest

means has hardly ever been equalled and never surpassed. Those familiar with his works will think at once of examples. Some of the most striking can be found in his great Mass in B minor : the simple throbbing accompaniment of the Crucifixus which makes the backbone turn to water, the trumpets and drums in the Gloria and the interplay of flute and violin in *Domine Deus*.

Bach in his comparative isolation in Leipzig was thinking and writing a century and more ahead of his time. When the splendours of his music had been unearthed in the early nineteenth century, it was too difficult to be played. As late as 1871 one of the leading London weeklies reporting on a performance of his Passion according to St. John said, "It will, of course, be a long time before the intricate music of Bach can be properly and effectively executed". Fortunately this has not proved to be the case. Though some of his works, both for the organ and for the orchestra, and especially for voices, will always remain a severe test for adequate performance, much of his music is within the capabilities of the ordinary performer nowadays. It can be played and enjoyed again and again and every performance discloses more of the depth and the width of his musical genius.

The "People's University" and the Trade Unions

RAWLE E. G. FARLEY

Rawle Farley is a young Guianese teacher, who is now in the United Kingdom on a British Council Scholarship, and who has been making a study of Adult Education in Britain.

"NO ROOF, NO WALLS, but for all that a living university—a University of the People". Thus does Stuart Emery, writing in the *News Chronicle*, sum up his survey of the work and activity of the Workers' Educational Association. For the W.E.A., as it is otherwise popularly known, is the largest, the most powerful, and the most distinguished organisation in adult education in the United Kingdom, and brings to its large, diverse, and widespread student body education that is of genuine university standards. It demands high and consistent levels of attainment : it insists on serious and disciplined study, on free discussion, and on a spirit of genuine enquiry and intellectual integrity, from both students and tutors. Like the

Universities in this country, it is non-party political ; it is free from official and party political influence, although it receives a large measure of financial support from the Ministry of Education, the Local Education authorities, and the Trade Unions. Rather does it aim at continuously changing the climate of official and public opinion in a dynamic society so that social progress shall continuously be made. And in the international field of adult education, it is certainly a unique organisation, for not only are many of its persistent features not shared by the now widely flung international W.E.A.'s, but this student-governed and student-controlled democratic organisation has been the progenitor of the many adult education movements the world over, which, in conjunction with the Universities and the government, are engaged in educational provision for the people.

Perhaps, the most impressive fact is that this organisation which today has over 5,000 classes throughout the United Kingdom, and a student body numbering over 103,000, is the product of voluntary service. The W.E.A. has been built by the voluntary efforts of the working classes of Britain, in conjunction later on with the Universities and those members of the community who had enjoyed happier educational opportunities, and who saw, with the working classes, the fundamental value of education in a rapidly changing society. The W.E.A. was founded by Dr. Mansbridge in 1903. Its major objective originally was the social and industrial emancipation of the working classes, an aim consistent with the existing social, industrial, and political conditions of the working classes of that time. And the working classes, too, as S. G. Raybould has pointed out, were, in that age, a clearly definable body. This clear-cut definition is impossible today, after half-a-century of virtual social revolution in this country. In the words of an eminent liberal English intellectual, we are all working class today. The re-definition of the term working class is basic to Raybould's challenge to the W.E.A., in his important recent book "W.E.A.—The Next Phase", in which he asks again, "Who are the workers" ? However this question is settled—and the book was considered to be so important that a National Conference was organised to consider its implications—the fact remains that the W.E.A., since its foundation in 1903, and especially with the emergence of the Joint Committee System, developed rapidly and widely enough to bring into comprehensive functional interrelationship three major voluntary bodies, engaged in the previous half century in organising educational provision for "the educationally underprivileged" as against "the educationally sophisticated". These voluntary bodies were the Universities, the Co-operative Movement, and the Trade Unions.

The history of the adult education movement in England, before the advent of the W.E.A., is of the utmost significance, and throws light on subsequent developments. For the founding of the W.E.A. by Dr. Mansbridge is to be regarded as a culmination and integration of the ardent but irregular demands for educational provisions which were made previous to 1903 by the working people themselves. The spontaneous demand for educational facilities was the outcome of felt needs, sharpened by the Industrial Revolution, which was, of course, a revolution not only in the economic structure of Britain, but in English social organisation as well. The Napoleonic wars added stimulus to the demand for technical education, and the religious movement sought education of the illiterate so that the Bible might be read, and the power of the Church reinforced.

Francis Place, the Charing Cross tailor, so prominent in early Trade Union History, sought education, and political and social rights. William Lovett, of the London Working Men's Association, made a combined demand for education and reform. Religious fervour and social concern led the Welshman, Griffith Jones, to pioneer the new circulating schools. The curriculum was rigorous. Classes in these schools started at 6 a.m., broke off for the long hours of work in those days, and began again at 8 p.m., while on Sundays, classes were held before chapel at 10 a.m. Yet despite the hours of work and the burdensome hours of school, by 1850, 150,000 people in Wales were students in these classes. The Mechanics Institutes, founded by Birkbeck, marked another stage of development. The new movement met at first with the solid discouragement of officialdom. "The mechanics will not come" they declared, "If they come, they will not listen, and if they listen, they will not understand". Yet the Mechanics' Institutes met with remarkable response. By 1850, 600 Mechanics' Institutes were founded with a membership of over 500,000. But their decline was as rapid as their rise. The fundamental reason for their fall is important. The fact is that the original predominating educational purpose had surrendered to conventional social aspects. Only Birkbeck College, London University remains, the sole prominent witness to the rise and fall of the Institutes.

More lasting foundations were laid, when in 1873, James Stuart, a Scotsman, initiated the University Extension Movement at Cambridge. Stuart himself was a remarkable man. He founded the first Women's College at Cambridge, and was the first Professor of Engineering there; he was also a London Newspaper Editor, and for some time a Member of Parliament. Imbued with the strong sense of community apparently natural to the Scotsman, he felt that the benefits of University education should be placed at the disposal of the community. And so began the Extension Movement, and organised interest by the University in the adult education movement. The University of London had been founded by Radicals and Reformers, as part of the popular movement for education. It was the founding of the W.E.A., however, and the institution of the Joint Committee System which wedded these movements, gave them pattern, and concerted social purpose. Through the W.E.A. and the Joint Committees, the University met the people. The "educationally sophisticated" middle class intellectuals met the "educationally underprivileged" and socially depressed working classes. The University itself had broadened out and become part of the University of the People.

But throughout these developments, there is the underlying social philosophy. It is true that the value of education was realised, in so far as it could serve further in the particular purpose of consolidating the ranks of labour, and of securing for that section of the community social acceptance, economic justice, and a greater share in the government of a country, in which universal adult suffrage was yet to be granted. But far more important was the consciousness of the continuous contribution which education made to clear accurate and responsible thinking, to the understanding of contemporary society, and above all, to the extension of social cohesion. This philosophy still prevails in the W.E.A. It exists to provide continuous and thorough courses of study, which lead not only to the improvement of the individual, but to the understanding and improvement of the society of which he is a part. It has chosen not to become a party propaganda

disseminator, but an organisation concerned with teaching its students how to think. It believes that teaching "which aims primarily at organising acceptance for particular ideas, programmes or policies is not education, but propaganda, and should not be countenanced by the Association". It is "the business of the tutor to encourage his students to form their own judgments" and "to combine with intellectual integrity a sensitive respect for the inner freedom of his students, and a recognition that he himself may after all be mistaken".

It is noteworthy that the academic freedom which the W.E.A. maintains and encourages has been accepted as likely to be in the best interests of the Trade Unions, both by the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee (W.E.T.U.C.) and by the Trade Union Congress Educational Committee. These are the two bodies which co-operate with the W.E.A. in making educational provision for the Trade Unions. In expressing its views on the resolution on centralised Adult Education passed at the Trades Union Congress (1946), the W.E.A., with the W.E.T.U.C., reiterated W.E.A. objectives and policy, as they now stand; "to co-operate with trade unions, co-operative societies, political parties, and organisations such as the Club and the Institute Union, and while it does not accept responsibility for the activities of these bodies outside the particular activities for which it enters into co-operation, its object in such co-operation is to provide working class education in order to enable the workers to develop their capacities and to equip them for their trade unions, labour, co-operative and club activities generally, in securing social and industrial emancipation". It is re-emphasised that the W.E.A. can do best service to the trade unions by teaching and helping students to think independently.

Objective education of this kind is of the greatest value to the trade unions today. Labour now occupies a powerful position in this country, and realises that no political programme can be launched by any political party, without reference to organised labour. The tasks of 1948 still remain, but withal the programme of the Welfare State has been adopted by the two major political parties of the moment—the Conservative and Labour Parties. They differ only as to the minima which should be set at the moment with the problem of the dollar gap still unsolved. The principles of full employment, and social security have been agreed upon and this agreement has enhanced the strength of labour. Maximum administrative efficiency, and increasing economic productivity are required if this country is to succeed in solving the present economic problems. In view of the existing situation, the largest measure of responsibility is asked of the unions which are in the strongest position they have ever had. Not only the leaders of the unions, but the rank and file of the labour movement must understand the present economic and international problems which the country is facing. Successful co-operation can only be gained with understanding, and understanding underlines the need for further educational provision. The unions are fully aware of this. "If we are to justify control", the W.E.A. and the W.E.T.U.C. states, "it must be at an intellectual level as good as or better than that of our predecessors".

The unions realise that not only a state of national emergency, but the very survival of the trade union movement is bound up with the task of educating their members. A good trade unionist must have a broad and liberal education, but he must have also a special knowledge of the history of the trade union movement,

the problems of industrial relations, the wages and price structure, and the relation between his movement and various aspects of his society. The education desired now is not education for "social and industrial emancipation" as in 1903, but "education for responsibility". It is this recognition of their changed position that led certain trade unions themselves to create the W.E.T.U.C., and to take the fullest advantage of the provision made by the older body, the W.E.A.

The educational facilities of the W.E.A. are at the entire disposal of the W.E.T.U.C. According to the 28th Report of the W.E.T.U.C. (1948), forty-one trade unions were now affiliated to the W.E.T.U.C. The W.E.T.U.C. comprises representatives from the affiliated trade unions, the W.E.A., and the Trades Union Congress General Council. It is interesting to note that the President of the W.E.A., a member of the Transport and General Workers Union, is the Treasurer of the W.E.T.U.C. In the districts, the Divisional Secretary of the W.E.A. now serves in a similar capacity for the W.E.T.U.C. And as the W.E.A. has established relationships with the Ministry of Education, the Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.) and the Universities, it follows that an indirect relation herein exists for the W.E.T.U.C. This body enjoys too all the advantages which the W.E.A. gains through its prestige, and long experience, and through its well-established contacts.

The trade unions contributed in 1948 approximately £10,000—a sum of money which was to be devoted to educational facilities for its members. One-third of this sum is retained by the W.E.A. to finance the administrative costs of making such provision. The W.E.T.U.C. supervises and controls the expenditure of this sum of money. The normal provisions made by the W.E.A. are open to the members of the unions affiliated to the W.E.T.U.C. These provisions comprise single lectures, one-day schools, residential week-end schools, national and international summer schools, residential education, and the normal terminal, sessional, and tutorial courses of the W.E.A.

The affiliated unions have clearly indicated that the broad, liberal, and objective education provided by the W.E.A. is in their best interests. In W.E.A. classes, whether in economics, international affairs, sociology, history, literature, or philosophy, the trade unionist meets not only other trade unionists who have been sent by their unions, but the wider range of students who attend W.E.A. classes. This range includes clerks and travellers, shop assistants and teachers, civil servants and professional and social workers, nurses and draughtsmen. The cross-fertilisation of this wide range of experience and of knowledge cannot but be beneficial. The Unions, like the range of "educationally sophisticated" students who attend W.E.A. classes, realise that early educational experience did not prepare them for the sudden and far-reaching changes. "They have outstripped our capacity to cope with them and we have to learn how to adapt ourselves to new ideas and new ways of life". People die mentally at different ages. The unions by taking advantage of the W.E.A. facilities ensure that their members shall not encounter premature death.

The extent to which the unions affiliated to the W.E.T.U.C. take advantage of the voluntary services of the W.E.A. can readily be indicated. In 1947/8, the W.E.A. arranged classes for a student body numbering 103,757. 3,426 of these classes were specifically for workers and trade unionists; and some of the classes so organised were of the most specialised character. It must be re-emphasised that

the standards of the W.E.A. classes are high and consistent. The Board of Education, according to Raybould, stated firmly that "the standard of work (in Tutorial Classes) must correspond with that required for University degrees in Honours" and again that "the instruction must aim at reaching within the limits of the subject covered, the standard of University work in Honours". The W.E.T.U.C. itself then arranges pioneer and preparation classes for its own members should there be need to do so, before entrance into a W.E.A. class. These preparation classes may or may not themselves be conducted with the help of the W.E.A. and may take the form of single lectures, informal discussions, study circles in the union's meeting rooms among members of that particular union or with members of various trade unions brought together.

Almost over the whole range of its provision, co-operation exists between the W.E.A. and the W.E.T.U.C. and the Universities through their Joint Committee system, by which the University Extra-Mural Departments co-operate with the Association. For instance, in 1948, twenty-seven summer schools were arranged, in which trade unionists participated, and in the organisation of which the W.E.T.U.C., the W.E.A. districts and the University Joint Committees—the Oxford Extra-Mural Delegacy, the Manchester Extra-Mural Department—co-operated. At these schools as also in other schools, trade unionists meet together, and if the schools are international, a wider area of contact among all unionists is established.

As previously indicated, the W.E.A. may arrange special courses for special trade unions, or special courses for the general body of trade unionists who are interested. The W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District arranged a special course in "Human Factors and Industrial Planning". A most interesting experiment was carried out in co-operation with the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee, in arranging a residential course for tutors on trade union problems in adult education and for trade union officers. Co-operation between the W.E.A. and the W.E.T.U.C. may take various other forms. The W.E.A. and the W.E.T.U.C., in order to arouse interest in Trade Union education, arranged a meeting of London Trade Unionists which was addressed by that distinguished Parliamentarian—Mr. Herbert Morrison. At the Margate Trade Union Congress in 1948, the W.E.A. and the W.E.T.U.C. arranged a meeting which was addressed by various delegates and members of the W.E.A. The new Residential College of the W.E.A.—Acland House—would be used to provide special courses for trade unionists.

The range of subjects studied falls within the framework of W.E.A. objectives and the original purposes for which the Association was founded. In the South-Eastern Division, in 1948, subjects covered in the informal courses for trade unionists were :—

- Modern political doctrines,
- Current affairs,
- Problems of local government,
- Economic and social problems,
- Problems of social welfare, and
- History of the working class movements.

The subjects studied at the one day schools in 1948 included :—

Problems of management, The American Labour Movement, Trade Union participation in Nationalised Industry, Industrial Psychology, Industrial Democracy, The New Functions of Trade Unionism, The Education Act (1944), Impact of European Culture on African Society, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., Wages, Profits and Prices, the Coal Problem, Culture and Society, Agriculture and the National Economy, Problems facing the working class movement, and so on.

A similar range of industrial and social problems was discussed at the various International Summer Schools arranged by the W.E.A. In 1948, for instance, the W.E.A. arranged Anglo-Danish, Anglo-French, and Anglo-Scandinavian Schools, with an International School for trade unionists at Manchester and Oxford, and an ILO School for trade unionists, each of them lasting two weeks.

Scholarships are of course provided to students in W.E.A. classes not only to the classes, but also to residential courses and to the Universities, where many a trade unionist has taken a good degree, and has returned to the movement as a tutor, or has entered into the higher posts of the administrative service. In the last Parliament, in fact, over 100 members were former students of the W.E.A., and hundreds of others hold responsible posts throughout this country. The Ministry of Education itself, as a result of W.E.A. representations, grants State Scholarships to trade unionists in W.E.A. classes, while the Local Education Authorities, statutorily bound to provide for further education under the Education Act of 1944, must consult the W.E.A. and the Universities before formulating and submitting its programme. There is therefore a wide area of complex but smooth-functioning and beneficial relationship between the W.E.A., the Universities, the Local Education Authorities, the Ministry of Education, and the Trade Unions.

In England, the whole structure of organisational relationship and activities in adult education is the result of the persistent and self-sacrificing voluntary efforts of the people of this country. The provision they have made for adult education—of the type described in this article—is certainly remarkable. The problems the pioneers faced in the past, and the problems the members of the movement face today, are not easy to solve. But there is a profound pride in what has been achieved so far. The movement has the solid support of its large body of members. There is no complacency, despite the attainments. The National Annual Conferences of the W.E.A. are for purposes of self-examination and self-criticism by members themselves, and for the renewal of their missionary zeal, and characteristic faith in their movement.

The Prime Minister in a letter to the W.E.A. during the W.E.A. week, in discussing the idea of government of the people, by the people, for the people, asked the question : "Unless the people understand, how can they govern" ? And he continued : "If we accept the challenge of these words today, then we must accept their educational implications". Challenges like these renew effort and refresh the movement. For it is a movement that has had a distinguished record, distinguished teachers like Professor R. H. Tawney, G. D. H. Cole, Barbara Wootton, Ramsay Muir, and Lady Simon of Wytenhshawe, and by and large a loyal hard-working body of students who feel rightly that the movement is their own.

They are well aware, to use the words of Stuart Emery, that their movement, the University of the People, is today, in their country, "not only one of the greatest driving forces in modern education, but a bulwark of the democratic system".

But there is an implication far more fundamental than mere pride in their institution and its place in a democratic community. The democratisation of the political and social institutions of this country throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries gave the trade unions here a degree of political, social, and economic power which they had never enjoyed before. It was, indeed, rightful power. But power, whether it be in the hands of the State or in the hands of individuals within the State, or in the hands of groups within the State, is a potentially dangerous and corruptive influence. The growth of power must be correlated with a corresponding growth of responsibility. There can be no real progress if power is irresponsible. The fact that the trade unions sought and financed objective education, of the type organised by a responsible body like the W.E.A., is refreshing evidence that a considerable section of the working class people is conscious that, *pari passu* with the growth of trade union power, they must educate themselves to understand how rightly to use that power.

The W.E.A. and the W.E.T.U.C. Committee, expressing its views on the Trades Union Congress (1946) Resolution on Centralised Adult Education declared firmly : "We believe that the test of a man's faith in trade unionism or in anything else is not the volubility with which he affirms it, but the reasons he gives for holding it. The labour movement is all the stronger for men of this calibre. We have never believed it to be the function of the W.E.A. to emancipate the workers. It is our function to provide him with the tools to emancipate himself, to make him socially conscious and aware of his own power if he cares to exercise it through his privileges and responsibilities as a citizen".

There is a significant shift of emphasis to individual responsibility for self-emancipation and the use of individual power. No doubt this shift is dictated by a profound change of circumstances. The working classes are no longer easily definable. They are not confined to the manual worker. The "educationally sophisticated" with all the advantage of a secondary education, the middle classes, and even the aristocracy, are now members of the labour movement. But the important fact remains that education continues to be used by the unions as one means in their search for the solution of one of the most difficult of the problems of the twentieth century—the problem of the use of power.

And this conception of education in relation to the exercise of power and of responsibility cannot be without significance for us in the Caribbean.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN JAMAICA AND BRITISH GUIANA

The two articles which follow provide an interesting contrast in the problems of rural development in the Caribbean area, and are of special interest at this time, when the need for the responsible participation of the country people in the management of their own affairs is so widely recognised. The first article is by Mr. M. B. Laing, C.M.G., O.B.E., Commissioner of Local Government in British Guiana, who has for many years been guide and friend to the Village Councils of British Guiana.

The second article gives the picture of a different approach to the same problems, this time through a great voluntary organisation—Jamaica Welfare—by Mr. Philip Sherlock, M.A., Vice-Principal of the University College, and one who has been one of the leading figures in the organisation about which he writes.

Experiment In Self-Help

A Chapter from the story of Jamaica Welfare Limited

PHILIP SHERLOCK

DURING the summer of 1944, a hurricane struck the north side of the Island of Jamaica, destroying crops and houses. One of the villages that suffered most was Bonnett, where some thirty families were left homeless.

The people of Bonnett were poor. Their village was encircled by the hills. A steep red dirt road linked them with the main road two or three miles away, but few trucks or carts turned aside from the main road to break into the quiet life of this country village. There was a time in the "banana days" when trucks had ventured along Bonnett's clay road to collect the high-piled bunches of bananas, but disease had wiped out the bananas and the old prosperity had gone. The village was derelict, a collection of one-room shacks.

Then the hurricane destroyed the shacks. The materials that were salvaged were worthless; a few broken boards; some blades of rotten thatch; nothing with which to rebuild a home. At first there was no attempt to rebuild. People who had lost their homes set up a small shed or roof of thatch or of damaged sheets of galvanised iron as if they had been children building houses with playing cards, and at night they crawled under this shelter, huddling close together for warmth.

But all was not lost. There were two or three, men and women of spirit and courage, who went down to the community centre at Guy's Hill, five miles away, to seek help from Jamaica Welfare Limited. A meeting was held in Bonnett, and twenty-four persons pledged themselves to work together in a special housing scheme. The new cottages were to cost about £180 each, and the money was to come from three sources : one-third as a loan repayable over ten years from the Agricultural Loan Societies Board ; one-third as a grant from hurricane relief funds through the Central Housing Authority ; and one-third to be contributed in cash, labour and material by the owner of the house. No cottage was to have less than two-rooms, or more than three since some people might easily have taken on greater obligations than they could carry. The men and women had full opportunity to discuss the plans for their cottages, and the women were encouraged to make curtains and mats.

Schemes of this sort collapse quickly if they are not planned in great detail. The group of twenty-four was broken into four teams, each with its captain and secretary. Weekly meetings were held, and labour days organised. Timber was collected from the forest, white lime was burnt, sand and earth collected, sites cleared. The work was planned so that no house was completed long before the others. Skilled carpenters and masons supervised the work of their unskilled helpers. Material was purchased in bulk, and anti-termite precautions taken. There were difficulties and moments of anxiety, but ten months after the start of the work twenty-two houses had been completed.

The Bonnett experiment is small, when it is set against the many needs and problems of Jamaica. It is nevertheless significant, because it demonstrates some of the methods of community education that have been followed by Jamaica Welfare, an organisation which came into existence in 1937 as a result of conversations between a Jamaican barrister, Mr. Norman Manley, and the President of the United Fruit Company, Mr. Samuel Zemurray.

As a result of that discussion it was agreed that two of the banana companies doing business in Jamaica would make a monthly contribution, based on their export shipments, to a fund which was to be used for the welfare of the Jamaican peasantry. No conditions were attached.

A limited liability company was formed to administer the funds built up by a cess of a halfpenny on every bunch of bananas purchased by the Fruit Companies, and the new organisation began its work knowing that it was free to evolve its policies in the bracing atmosphere of freedom from commercial interference and official control.

The Company gradually elaborated a programme of community education. For more than a century, as Lord Olivier pointed out in his book, JAMAICA, THE BLESSED ISLE, the church had made a great contribution to the social welfare of Jamaica, but the time had come for formulating a co-ordinated programme of social welfare. The directors of the new company agreed not to embark on purely economic or commercial ventures. Such schemes would be aided only in very special circumstances, where they could be established as co-operative efforts, the objective being not the making of profits but the improvement of social conditions by the development of a new industry organised on co-operative lines.

It was also agreed that no attempt should be made to take over duties which rightly belonged to the Government, such as the provision of medical services or of schools. Further, all forms of charitable relief were excluded.

Gradually the work began to take shape. The economic projects include the development of cottage industries and of co-operatives. At the same time a programme was outlined for the development of community centres; first consideration being given to rural areas where small settlements dominated.

In one of its reports the Company disclaim "any attempt to attribute to its activities greater practical results than they have yet achieved" and asks that its small beginnings should be modestly regarded. It does claim, however, "to have evolved a policy of distinct and recognizable form which regards social welfare services of this type as a natural element in the forces that modern society must use so that intention may govern the evolution of social affairs. In this policy the importance of programme and the insistence on techniques are only the result of a constant regard for the organic relations of the economic, the moral and the spiritual in society".

Other lands have taught lessons and given guidance to the Jamaican effort. Officers have studied in Britain and in the United States. The old and honourable example of Rochdale, the stimulating teaching of the Dane Grundtvig, the study clubs of Sweden, the work of Brayne in the villages of Bengal, and the programme of adult education as conceived and carried out at Antigonish in Nova Scotia, have all helped to make more effective the attempts at rural reconstruction in Jamaica. But the dynamic, the drive and its methods, are disclosed in that passage of the company's report which says that it has been its object "to discover how best to assist the release of the latent moral and social forces that are generated when people act together for a common aim which they can comprehend and may hope to achieve under a leadership which they find among themselves. This task involves almost any activity which may happen to fit in with the needs and opportunities of any given place".

At the centre of the programme is the "Better Village Plan" which aims at co-ordinating existing activities, and helping the village to study its needs and meet them. All other activities, such as the development of housecrafts, of village industries and of co-operative enterprises, are regarded as specialized elements of the Better Village Plan and are treated as specific branches of work, partly because of their importance and partly because of the special technical problems involved. Where the work is successful the village will, it is hoped, gradually become a living community, capable of united and effective action. This attempt to build the village into a community is of special importance for Jamaica. In some parts of the British Caribbean, as in many parts of the world, family, village, and church, combine to give cohesion and stability to society. But in many parts of Jamaica these basic social units of family and village have yet to be built up and strengthened.

In this programme the purely educational and the economic aspects of the work are closely interlocked and are to be considered as parts of the same work. Day by day there is fresh evidence that without a powerful incentive for self-improvement (which in many cases is derived from the realization of an economic need) any programme of literacy or education will fail. Yet a purely economic

need is not the only stimulus. With trained officers a general desire for education and for better living conditions can be aroused and used. A plan of action has been adopted by which community associations are organized and a programme planned by the community. The full programme meets the needs of all age-groups, but only as the result of a gradual process.

The visitor, then, would not find local conditions transformed, but he would find a new force at work. He would find that poor folk in the remote village of Llandewey had cleared a recreation ground for themselves and built a small village hall ; that in the poverty-stricken village of Graywood the peasants had repaired and built one another's houses ; that in Ragsville men and women had replaced tumbledown hovels with decent houses. He would find this same force manifesting itself in the Pedro district in the South through the formation of Associations of Tomato Growers, and he would find it in the Parish of St. Thomas in the East in teams of humble men and women seeking with guidance to meet their own needs.

The outbreak of war created new difficulties. After some time the shipments of bananas fell sharply and it became necessary to begin using the reserve funds which had been carefully accumulated. New possibilities developed when the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund was established. The Comptroller's adviser on Social Services, Professor T. Simey, visited Jamaica and, after investigation and discussion, decided to recommend that the work of Jamaica Welfare should be expanded. As a result the original company, as an autonomous organisation, passed out of existence in 1943, its place being taken by a larger and more representative Board which included a number of the original directors. The new company, Jamaica Welfare (1943) Limited, received an annual grant of £30,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. The functions of the company were :—

- (a) To act as a channel of communication between the Government and the various voluntary agencies in the field of social administration ;
- (b) To execute the services for which the Company is specifically made responsible ;
- (c) To train social workers ;
- (d) In collaboration with the Secretary for Social Services to prepare plans for the development of voluntary social services in the Colony ;
- (e) To maintain its existing services and develop them in accordance with the plan of action for social services prepared by Professor Simey in 1941.

Provision was made for the situation to be reviewed after five years, and so in 1949 further changes were made. The old limited liability company was replaced by a statutory body, since this type of administration gives more flexibility and freedom, and offers more opportunity for voluntary effort than does a government department. The Jamaica Social Welfare Commission was created by law to carry on the work that was begun twelve years ago by Jamaica Welfare Limited.

Local Government in British Guiana

MALCOLM B. LAING

THE HISTORY of the village communities of British Guiana is interesting. Anyone going along the sea coast of the Colony and seeing the established villages but who is unacquainted with the domestic history would have to be told that these well ordered communities sprang from comparatively small beginnings. The stranger would have to be told that the first villages were largely composed of settlements which arose out of the purchase of plantations by liberated slaves in the early years following emancipation. The freed people remembering patriarchal life of their own old country trusted their savings to their own leaders who were known as 'headmen' and it was in the names of the 'headmen' that the plantations were bought and subsequently divided into equivalent shares representing individual savings of the contributors. And so it was that the first law regulating the partition of lands was passed in 1851 with particular reference to the village of Buxton. The freed people, out of gratitude to the great emancipator, Buxton, named their village which was formerly called Orange Nassau after him. A similar case of reverent gratitude is the Victoria Village District which was originally called Northbrook.

The frontlands of these plantations became residential areas divided into house lots and the lands beyond these going aback to the end of the plantations were divided into what is known as cultivation lots. The method of subdivision which made house lot areas distinct from cultivation areas resulted in making the pursuit of agriculture an arduous task as the cultivation lands are often miles away from the houses. The cultivation lands having been divided into sections say, A, B, C and D, meant that each proprietor of a house lot owned a corresponding lot in each of those sections. Of course, an alternative to this method of division would have been to found a community in the middle of the area and to surround it with the amenities of churches, schools, playgrounds and so on, with the cultivation areas at equal distances from the community areas generally. But this would have meant that the good effect of the immediate Atlantic breezes would not have been gained.

So much for the immediate founding of the village communities. There were many unsuccessful efforts of the villagers to manage their own affairs and in 1856 an Ordinance was enacted which was the germ out of which the existing more elaborate system has grown. But the most outstanding advance in village government was the enactment in the year 1892 of a measure aiming at the ideal of self-government. There may still be a few leading old villagers today who recollect the historic meeting in St. Paul's schoolroom at Plaisance when Dr. Carrington, the Attorney General of the day, expounded the legal machinery for providing a better ordering of affairs in village administration. This was over 50 years ago and there have been many changes aiming at improvement since then.

In 1945, the Legislative Council of the Colony passed a Comprehensive Ordinance combining all the separate Local Government laws into one complete law. It has been called the Handbook of Local Government.

The new Ordinance of 1946 took the place of the old Local Government Ordinance, Chapter 84, and the amending Ordinances, and one of the principal changes in the new Ordinance over the old is the constitution of the Local Government Board. The new Local Government Board will consist of ten members, three of whom are *ex-officio* members, namely :—

The Commissioner of Local Government,

The Director of Medical Services, and

The President of the Village Chairmen's Conference,

three members of the Legislative Council, two members of Village Councils or Country Authorities, a representative of the British Guiana Sugar Producers Association and one other person. This personnel, it must be admitted, is variedly representative.

I have referred to the amending Ordinances. The principal amending Ordinance was the Village Councils Election Ordinance of 1935. It was by this Election Ordinance that the present system of village elections came into being and through which the village electors were given the right to elect two-thirds of the members of the village council and the councillors the right to elect one of themselves to be Chairman of the Council. Provision has now been made for the election of a Deputy Chairman. This has been enacted for the first time in this Ordinance and as the name implies, this Councillor will deputise in the absence of the Chairman so that there should always be without dispute someone at the head of affairs in the village to whom the villagers could go at any time.

These are one or two features in the new Ordinance which may be of interest, of special interest, to the villagers themselves. Now there are two classes of districts and these are the village districts and the country districts. The simple difference between the districts is that the Local Authority of the village district is called a Village Council ; two-thirds of that Council is elected by the village electors and one-third appointed by the Local Government Board. The Local Authority of the country district is called a Country Authority and all the members are appointed by the Local Government Board.

An important addition in the new Ordinance is that provision is made for the raising in status in an easy manner and without interruption of administrative affairs of a country district to the status of a village district and it is hoped that the ratepayers of many of the country districts will take advantage of this and improve the status of their districts. Where there is representation by election there is always a more personal interest in the administration of affairs and the Local Government Board is always ready to recommend to Government the increased status for progressive country districts, but of course, the desire for change must come from the ratepayers of the districts themselves. Under the old Local Government Ordinance there was also this difference between a village district and a country district. An appeal against the appraisement of any property in a village district could be made to the Magistrate but an appeal against the appraisement of any property in a country district was made to the Local Government Board. In the new Ordinance appeals in respect of both classes of districts must be made to the

Magistrate and this should be more satisfactory as the Local Government Board, being, so to speak, the mainspring of local administration, should be freed from deciding such matters with which they themselves are in other ways concerned. Another advance in the new Ordinance is that Local Authorities are now given the power to levy rates on leased Crown Lands and on leased Colony Lands and to proceed to recover the rates if they are not paid by the lessee by execution on the right title and interest of the lessee. Before now Crown Lands and Colony Lands were exempt from the payment of rates.

These are some of the more popular changes in the Local Government Ordinance and these may give some indication of the activities of the Village Councils and Country Authorities working away in the rural districts. Reference must be made to the part these Authorities play in the work of sanitation. Under the Public Health Ordinance the Local Authorities are as such the Local Sanitary Authorities responsible to the Central Board of Health. It is proposed that shortly there will be a Town and Country Planning Ordinance and a Housing Ordinance and here the Local Authorities will be expected actively to co-operate for housing reform. The varied activities of the Social Welfare Organisation in the rural districts are fairly widely known and the Local Authorities, I am glad to say, are heartily co-operating with the many movements of social betterment. These are important affairs, for too often a Village Council or a Country Authority seems to the ordinary person little more than a nuisance, a body which shoves rates upon us and interferes with personal liberties here and there. It is the duty of us all to do what we can to eradicate these limited and erroneous ideas and to get abroad a better and bigger conception of what rural administration really means in the homes and daily lives of the people in the rural areas.

Local Authorities have therefore a special task to perform ; first that of creating a sound interest and knowledge about local government in their areas ; and secondly, a realisation of the necessity for re-generation of the soil as a vital factor in the preservation of the health of their community. In what manner can that task be discharged ? It can be done by the adoption by the Local Authorities and the Unions of Local Authorities of a planned policy to educate the people, and show them :—

- (1) that local government is democratic and exists for the common good ;
- (2) that the services performed by Local Authorities have a wide range and great value ;
- (3) that rates represent no more than payment for essential services and beneficial amenities ;
- (4) that local government is their own business in which they should take an individual pride and interest ;
- (5) that voluntary personal service is an education in citizenship, and ;
- (6) that rights and privileges of citizenship carry with them corresponding duties and responsibilities.

While urban denizens may not be as interested in the passing changes in local government as their rural cousins, yet it behoves us all to take an interest in what goes on around us, and there are few things which sustain so abiding and so lasting an interest as the government of ourselves by ourselves.

A Letter to the Editor

SIRS,

I am directed to refer to an article by Mr. J. Wright, Deputy Director of Agriculture (Research), which was published in the September Quarter 1949 issue of the *Caribbean Quarterly*, and to request that the following statement be published in your next issue for general information:—

"The article appearing in the September, 1949 issue on "An Experiment in Land Settlement at Lucky Hill, Jamaica" by J. Wright should not be regarded as an expression of the views of the Government of Jamaica. In particular, the statements made in the first paragraph of the article in regard to the creation of small hold-

ings on an unrestricted freehold basis are not endorsed and are indeed far from being the views held by this Government on the subject; the experiment being conducted at Lucky Hill in land settlement on a co-operative basis is still in its initial stages and in the opinion of Government, it is too early to draw reliable conclusions therefrom".

I am, Sirs,

Your obedient Servant,

Sgd. E. MILLER
for Colonial Secretary

Reviews

ROAD TO SURVIVAL — William Vogt. — (Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1949, 288 pp.)

THE REVIEWER knows of no book which should be more widely read than this. Although addressed mainly to U.S. citizens and written in a manner to shock them into action, its concern is not one race, one culture or one political entity, but mankind as a whole, and, in its relatively few pages, it presents a remarkable picture of the problem on a world-wide

scale. The early pages move slowly but there is ample reward for those who persist and the facts and arguments, presented later, completely offset any first impressions of the case being overstated. One may quibble at a statement here or a deduction there from time to time but one is left with the inescapable conclusion that the author has made his point beyond doubt. Since that point concerns vitally every living individual and his posterity the book should be read by all, priests, parishioners and politicians, governors and governed, merchants and manufacturers, farmers, foresters and engineers.

And what is the author's point? That man has squandered and is still squandering the irreplaceable wealth of the world, that what is left cannot maintain ever-increasing populations at ever-rising standards of living and that, at this eleventh hour, we must take stock of what is left, organise its use so that it will serve a given population in perpetuity and then, by education and propaganda, contain reproduction within the limits set.

Man cannot eat iron, copper, or bauxite and if, by industrialisation of his mineral wealth, he earns money to purchase food, he still starves if there is not enough land in the world producing more food than the local inhabitants can consume. Such surpluses of food for export occur mainly in the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and Argentina. They occur, in part, because the local population has an average of several acres per head and, in part, because they overcrop their land by bringing under the plough areas which are subject to erosion, by destroying the forests which protect their watersheds and by overgrazing their ranges. On the other hand, the exportable surplus food is being shortened from the home end by increases in the local population. What hope is there then, in a few years, for the feeding, let alone the raising of the standard of living, of the Indians, who increase by 14,000 per day, or the Greeks, Rumanians, Poles, Italians and Dutch who will all double their population within the lifetime of persons already born.

Vogt lays great stress on determining what is the sustained yield which may be expected from a given area. So much of the world's land has been overcropped for short periods and then abandoned or has become marginal land. It is true that in Barbados, in British Guiana and in Hawaii sugar yields have increased and not declined, after many years of cropping, but such areas are small and few and the increased yields are largely dependent on imported fertilizers. So far as nitrogen is concerned there is an almost limitless supply in the atmosphere and man now knows how to convert atmospheric nitrogen into ammonium sulphate. The story in regard to potash and phosphate is, however, quite different. These are mined at specific points and the supply is dwindling steadily away.

Those who clamour for the wholesale

industrialisation of the British Guiana forests, without due regard to reafforestation, those who think the population of Jamaica or Puerto Rico or Haiti can be allowed to grow indefinitely, those who would burn the forests off our steep hillsides to plant corn, should be forced to read this book. Those who think soil conservation and planned land usage scientific fads should be taken to see one of the worst cases of soil erosion and man-made desert in the world—the Venezuelan state of Lara is relatively near.

Vogt deals interestingly with the man-made ecological changes which led to the disappearance of great empires and cities in the past, both in the old and new worlds, with the parasitism of Europe on the New World and Australia and its partial latter-day reorientation towards Africa, with the fundamental cause (population pressure) of many past wars and the threats from the same source now building up in India, China, Japan and Russia, and time and again he brings out the complexity of the relationships which alter climate, fauna and flora and shape man's destiny. As he says :

"A sick river valley is vastly more complicated than a sick man, if only because the man is one of the most important parts of it; diagnosis and treatment of the illness should, in many cases, require the particular skills of climatologists, pedologists, hydrologists, botanists, zoologists, agronomists, soil conservationists, foresters, grazing experts, sociologists, economists, &c. In some parts of the world the sick valley may be subjected to the blundering management of a lawyer. In the United States we are likely to turn it over to an Army engineer".

His comments on the Sanitary Revolution, which followed Pasteur's discoveries as surely as the Industrial Revolution followed the Steam Engine, and the cotton gin, are provocative. Why, says he, preserve the infant that he may spend a lifetime in misery and die eventually of slow starvation? It is clear that "industrialisation", on which alone so many pin their faith, will not answer that unpleasant question. His book suggests other angles of approach.

C.H.B.W.

TREASURE IN THE CARIBBEAN

—A first study of Georgian buildings in the British West Indies by A. W. Acworth. Published by Pleiades Books Ltd., London, 1949.

IF YOU WALK down Long Street, in St. John's, Antigua, you may notice that the upper floors of many of the wooden houses dating from the late 18th—early 19th centuries are supported by turned posts.

Usually, however, that is the limit of observation. This is where, with Mr. Acworth's help, the further step can be taken. "These upper floors", he writes, "are supported by turned posts which to modern eyes would seem more suited to uphold the canopy of a four-poster than the upper storey of a building. In point of fact they were the work of ship's carpenters and were modelled on the wooden posts used between decks in a man-of-war".

Or in Nevis: why is it that in this small island of stony fields, the cemeteries boast so many elaborate and richly worked tombstones? "Despite its small acreage it supported two dozen and more estate houses and to the profits of sugar were added the less respectable gains of a slave market. To Nevis, too, at a time when water-cures were all the fashion, came from far and wide the planter aristocracy to bathe in the sulphurous waters of the spring which bubbles up a short way out of Charlestown. But times have changed.... The architecturally undistinguished Bath Hotel, built in 1803 at a cost of £40,000, was sold before the century was out for no more than £40".

One virtue of M. Acworth's introductory notes is that they open up many avenues of further exploration and discovery. Sometimes one is compelled to question, as in a passage where we are told that the Jamaican estate houses of the late 17th and 18th centuries "were designed in part for purposes of defence—there were still Spaniards in the hills, as well as deserters from the British army".

The true reason would seem to be the presence of the Maroons in the hills and the fear of slave-risings. Perhaps an even stronger general criticism, however, is the fact that the author often makes valuable and interesting comments without amplifying them or, sometimes, giving a clue to his authority, as in the statement that the "Jamaican practice of 'sanding' paint-work" . . . "began some three-quarters of a century ago when a certain Francis Phillips, who was employed in a Kingston lumber-yard, discovered that Timber which had lain in fine white sand from the Cays (near Port Royal) was not attacked by termites. And so he invented the process of throwing sand on to exterior paintwork while the paint was still wet". Surely even a "first study" might have more amplitude.

Mr. Acworth's book contains 60 excellent photographs which illustrate the ways in which the Georgian architectural forms of England were modified to suit living in the West Indies, the rich variety that resulted, and the common characteristics imposed upon them by the climate. The result is a book which should find a place in every public and school library, because its study will open the eyes of West Indians to some of the treasure to which those living in the islands are so often blind.

P. M. SHERLOCK

MEN IN THE TROPICS—A Colonial anthology compiled and edited by Harold Evans. Published by Hodge & Co., London, 1949.

THIS BOOK "aims at being both a piece of entertainment and a work of reference". The author has put together "some of the more piquant, shrewd and illuminating things that have been written about people and places in the Tropics". These have

been selected and arranged to form five sections, each dealing with a part of the British Empire, each self-contained, each with a short historical introduction by the editor.

Part Two of the book deals with the Caribbean. The attempt to compress Caribbean history into five pages of text exposes the author to criticism because he is compelled to make generalisations and tempted to mention the spectacular and to ignore the significant. Accuracy becomes difficult, because there is no space for full statement. For instance, it is not completely accurate to say that Cromwell despatched his armada in 1655 "to exact revenge" for the destruction of an English settlement at Santa Cruz near Porto Rico in 1650. It is true that buccaneering was a spectacular feature of Caribbean History in the late 17th century but the shift from tobacco cultivation to sugar estates in the eastern Caribbean in the mid-seventeenth century is no less significant. The first receives some six pages of text, but the social and economic revolution of the 1650's receives no notice. And, as far as generalisations are concerned, how does the author arrive at the astonishing conclusion that there does not seem much doubt "that most negroes found life as a slave in the West Indies more congenial than life as a free man in West Africa". Surely even "potted history" should limit itself to history.

It is clear, nevertheless, that the author approaches his task in a liberal and sympathetic spirit, and the selections show a genuine feeling for natural beauty and for the spiritual values in human life.

No anthology is perfect, and as far as the second section of this book is concerned, one might regret the absence of extracts from Monk Lewis or from Bryan Edwards or Long. Here again one cannot have everything, and one of the tantalising charms of an anthology is the way in which it tempts us to think of selections that are not there.

A final question. Did the men of the tropics have no sayings, no songs, no tales of which even a few might have been included?

UNDER THE SKIN — by Phyllis

Bottome. Published by Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1950.

PHILLIS BOTTOME is so charming a person that to have met her almost disqualifies one for the task of reviewing her latest novel; for it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, judged by the high standards she has set herself by her choice of subject, '*Under the Skin*' is not a successful book. As the title implies, the subject is the relation between people of different skin colours—black, brown, white and yellow—in an unnamed West Indian island which is easily identified as Jamaica: behind the particularities of these relations can be clearly seen the author's preoccupation with the nature of the geniuses of the three stocks, European, Asiatic and African, and their functions in the world of the present and the future. Miss Bottome has observed the manifestations of colour conflict with a keen eye and interpreted them with a sympathetic and liberal sensibility: but one can pay tribute to the justice of her views and yet find their expression in "*Under the Skin*" to be unsatisfactory.

The plot of the book is simple and belongs to an already well-explored genre. A young headmistress takes over a girls' boarding school that has been for some time under the control of the capable senior mistress: the tacit struggle for possession that occurs is finally decided when, in the crisis caused by a hurricane, the headmistress keeps her nerve and the senior mistress loses hers, but a senior girl is driven by her love for the latter to try to kill the headmistress and later, by the intensity of disillusionment, to kill herself. All the action takes place within the microcosm of the school.

The microcosmic plot is capable of great effects (witness Jane Austen's novels), but there are certain uses to which it can hardly be put. Miss Bottome attempts to represent and expound her enormous theme through her limited plot by making each character in the microcosm the representative, or the expounder, or both, of some figure in the gallery of racial conflict.

P. M. SHERLOCK

The young headmistress is the brave intelligent and unstable European, the displaced senior mistress the ambitious, embittered near-white: the school is given an annex presided over by a clear-sighted and mature Chinese, and a school doctor, suspicious, intellectual and African, whose function in the spiritual drama is to fall out of love with the perfection of the Chinese and into love with the more congenial limitations of the European. All these types represent real forces in the Jamaican social scene: but their very fullness jostles continually against the frail plot and the physical limits of a 300-page book.

It is impossible in any book shorter than "War and Peace" to act out the social significance of the West Indian racial mixture through character and action alone, without simplification. In attempting it in "Under the Skin" Miss Bottome has had to throw overboard the intensity and subtlety of emotional analysis which is one of the virtues of the microcosmic novel; and she has not been able to bring to the larger theme the vigour and spontaneity which comes from direct, interior knowledge of the situation. She falls back too often for the comfort of the West Indian reader on straight exposition, especially through the mouth of the Confucian Mr. O'San. At these times the writing has the attraction of a travel book written by an intelligent and observant tourist: but the interest of the novel, which is above all a story, sags meanwhile.

It is interesting to compare "Under the Skin" with Vic Reid's "New Day". Many of the same sights and sounds figure in both: but what to Miss Bottome is a tropical bird, is to Vic Reid a pechary or a klingkling, and what to her is an impressive river is to him a stream to bathe your feet when you are walking far. There is evidence too, that Miss Bottome's understanding of Jamaican people does not go far enough down the scale to take in the principal characters of "New Day"; the servants of the school, for example are mute and nameless, save for the theatrically necessary figure of Adassa; and her one speech is couched more in the language of Pocahontas than in that of Jamaican working girl. Essentially, "Under the Skin" is a novel with a West Indian background whereas "New Day" is a West Indian novel. "Under the Skin"

is an excellent exposition in novel form of a part of the racial preoccupations of West Indian society, for those who do not know them directly: but West Indians themselves will find it often disconcerting.

G.C.

A *SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES*—by H. V. Wiseman. Pub. University of London Press, London. 1950.

THE EYES of the West Indian have been set in the ends of the earth. The school child in the mountains of St. Lucia or in the country villages of Antigua can repeat with commendable accuracy the names of the capes and rivers of Britain while the pupils in secondary schools have been busy with Poyning's Law and the wives of Henry VIII. Around there is rich natural beauty. From the St. Lucia school, on a clear day, across the waters where Nelson waited, the school child can see down the great mountains of Martinique. The child in Antigua can look down from Shirley heights down on to the waters of English harbour, where frigates of the line were fitted out to fight the French. He could see (if he were shown) in the streets of St. John wooden columns turned after the fashion of the columns supporting the deck of the eighteenth century ship of the line. But he does not see these things. Eyes remain closed to the significance of the local and familiar.

There are many reasons for this neglect of the familiar, for this blindness to the past. A century ago those who had education looked on Britain as their home and on the West Indies as a place of pilgrimage. As early as 1719 Lawes, governor of Jamaica, appealed to the Council and Assembly—"I wish you would consider of making some proper provisions to educate our youth at home; which will beget in

them a natural and stronger affection for the place they are born and bred in, and a greater love for their native country than their fathers shewed". . . .

Times are changing. The future holds the possibility of Federation, the certainty of closer association. The present witnesses growing interest in the West Indian community and a stronger sense of belonging to that community. The past is no longer a cupboard full of shameful memories, to be kept fast locked. It is the stirring record of the settlement of the Caribbean by the people from many lands, of the establishment of new communities, the creation of new societies.

As a result of this today, more than ever, there is a general demand for books that deal with the history of the West Indies. It has in the past been well-nigh impossible for the West Indian to go into a bookshop and purchase a good concise general history of these lands. It is now more important than ever that he should be able to do this.

This is one reason why Mr. Wiseman's book will be well received in the British Caribbean. But it deserves a welcome also from its own merits. It is clearly and concisely written. In 153 pages the author tells how the British West Indies were discovered and settled, and recounts briefly the vivid story of the great European powers fighting for the islands. It shows how intimately Caribbean history is bound up with the history of Europe, West Africa and North America and it discusses the relationship between the Home Government and the Colonies, the problems of Federation, and the hopes for the future. Teachers in schools and in training colleges will find the book invaluable, and the general reader will appreciate the sympathetic and balanced treatment of the subject.

A "short history" often takes a long time to write. Within the narrow limits of 150 pages the author must present the history of more than four centuries, preserving always a sense of proportion and balance. It is to Mr. Wiseman's credit that he has been able to do this. There are a few inaccuracies, as in the statement that Penn and Venables failed in their "attack on Hispaniola and Santo Domingo". The attack was on the city of Santo Domingo in the island of Hispaniola. There is the reference on page 56 to the

maroons in Jamaica intermarrying with the "buccaneers of the hills" but these "buccaneers of the hills" could only have been maroons also. The inaccuracies are few, and some of them are the result of oversimplification. Thus Vernon's victory at Porta Bellow is mentioned, but not the much more important defeat at Cartagena. These few inaccuracies can easily be corrected in a second edition. The balance, sense of proportion, and the clarity of presentation make the book a welcome addition to recent works on the West Indies.

Finally, the publishers are to be congratulated on having produced so serviceable, well-bound and well-illustrated a volume for so reasonable a price as 6/-.

P. M. SHERLOCK

19th June, 1950

A MORNING AT THE OFFICE—
by Edgar Mittelholzer. Pub. by
Hogarth Press Ltd., London.

THIS IS A STORY well worth a place on the bookshelf. The language flows with ease and grace, and the form of the novel is surprising and entertaining. The author maintains a clear unity by relating his frequent digressions to a particular morning in a Trinidad office. Though lightly held together, the threads of the story firmly weave the pattern of fourteen lives into an artistic tapestry depicting an authentic moment in West Indian life.

The authenticity never falters, and therein lies the power of the book. The writer is benignly objective and uses the morning as a convincing opportunity to describe the people of the West Indies whom he loves with fine understanding of human strength and weakness, and whom he knows in all their enchanting variety of race. Edgar Mittelholzer enjoys humanity, and writes with humour and freedom of these ordinary people. It is an advantage that he can

use his own West Indian setting for this psychological study, for the West Indies must surely be one of the richest sources in the world for a skilled student of human nature.

In describing the characters of the book as "ordinary" I have perhaps violated the spirit in which it is written since the author regards nobody as "ordinary", his standard for behaviour, as he mentions through Nanette Hinkson, being based on integrity. Whereas this oversimplifies, it is that same quality which gives special significance to his writing. Horace Xavier, the ambitious office boy, is the most appealing of the characters and it is around his painful problem of infatuation for an older socially superior woman on the staff that the story develops. Horace is first a human being, but the added fact of his black skin gives an astringent interest. Similarly the humanity of the other characters, created from the mixed race of Trinidad, comes first. These people might be an office staff anywhere, except for their race and colour, which present an added challenge to their lives, in a world where colour is generally regarded as a disadvantage.

In the course of the novel a charming fairy story is told and like all good fairy tales it has a moral. We learn through a

little girl named Mooney, that everyone has a terrifying fear that must be met, as Mooney meets her 'Jen'. Obviously Mittelholzer has met and overcome his 'Jen', with laughter and charity, and is able to stand free, seeing the 'Jen' of colour-consciousness as no more awful than other human terrors, and able to address the 'Jen' in the words of the child 'Too great and lonely and dreadfully dreadful for anyone to let you hurt them'.

Within the poetic licence of a theory of 'Telescopic Objectivity', the author tells certain incidents in the past of a key, a desk, and a door in the office. These incidents influence the present and future of people in the office. I found this device intriguing and extremely well handled by the writer.

This novel is admittedly limited in scope, but within the limits that he has set himself the author shows that he is a serious craftsman of vivid imagination from whom, I hope, will come much, and more profound, writing. 'A Morning at the Office' is a distinct indication of his ability.

MARGERY FOSTER-DAVIS

10th August, 1950

Caribbean Bookshelf

THROUGHOUT the British West Indies there is a rapidly growing interest in Caribbean history, and in the socio-economic aspects of Caribbean Society. Many of those who are interested find it difficult to obtain information about suitable books for reading and study. This short list is published for the guidance and help of those who find themselves in this difficulty. Some of the books in the list cannot be purchased easily, but copies should be available at the Public Library. On the other hand recent books, like Dr. Eric Williams' "Capitalism and Slavery" can be purchased through any bookseller in the West Indies or in Britain.

This list is very incomplete. It is published for those who are beginning to study the history of the British Caribbean ; for purposes of comparison a few books on Puerto Rico and Haiti are included.

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